Educational TV—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

February 16, 1952

The White House Under Surveillance

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

*

The Malthusian Scarecrow

BY JOSUE DE CASTRO

*

ermany's Price Goes Up - - - - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

he High Cost of Health - - - - - - - *Keith Hutchison*

emarque's "Spark of Life" - - - - - - - *Harvey Swados*

nother Presidential Appointment - - - *Willard Shelton*

FEB 15 1952

) CENTS A COPY · EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 · 7 DOLLARS A YEAR

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Death by Jim Crow

Galveston, Texas

ROBERT DORSEY SMITH, forty-three-year-old Negro, was found dead in a Galveston alley in the early morning hours of November 11. The circumstances of his death, as they have since come to light, offer an example of Jim Crowism less sensational than a lynching but just as unpardonable.

Normally a dead Negro has little news value in Galveston. But differences between the police department and the hospital administration invested this case with unusual interest. Stories about it appeared in nearly every issue of the local dailies from November 12 to 28.

The father of six children, Smith had been employed by a local packing firm for twenty years. The evening before his death he was struck by an automobile on a busy Galveston street. He was taken from the scene of the accident to John Sealy Hospital, a unit of the School of Medicine of the University of Texas. After examination and treatment he was released, although he was unable "to get fully dressed" when he left; his shoes and wallet were later found in the hospital. The police started to drive him home but halfway there dropped him off, with about nine blocks to walk. He was found dead in an alley not far from where he had got out of the police car —his face swollen, large bruises on legs and back, naked except for his trousers. "Accidental death due to skull fracture, multiple fractures of the pelvis, and internal injuries," read the autopsy report.

The next day the police and the hospital officials issued conflicting statements. Dr. T. D. Blocker, Jr., the hospital administrator, said that the emergency examination had found only superficial hip injuries and intoxication. The police stated that Smith's death might have been caused by the accident, plus a fall from the hospital examining table. Smith had been helped to the police car by a physician and an orderly, who said later that there was nothing seriously wrong with him at that time. In the view of the police the arrangement of his clothing and the nature of his injuries precluded the possibility that he had been assaulted after leaving the car to walk home.

At a subsequent meeting called by Dr. Blocker "to give the hospital's side of the case," Dr. Blocker testified that Smith had been examined by a senior medical student, then rechecked by an intern. Both reported a minor hip injury and intoxication. An X-ray was taken, but a fracture of the pelvis detected on the picture later by an unidentified radiologist was overlooked at the time, apparently because the plate was wet. There was no evidence of a skull fracture. The intern testified Smith fell from the table while alone in the room.

Both the county attorney and the police commissioner declared that the facts brought out at this hearing in no way reflected upon the hospital. The Galveston *News* of November 17 reported that "the circumstances surrounding the death were thrashed out . . . with the group reaching a general agreement that the incident was the type that occurs unavoidably at times."

A committee of Negroes then petitioned for a full investigation. The grand jury agreed to hear some witnesses and later issued a statement which made no mention of the actions of the police or the hospital attendants. Thus the case of Robert Dorsey Smith came to a quiet close—apparently to the satisfaction of the Galveston authorities.

Many unanswered questions, however, haunt the conscience of the white minority concerned with such cases. Is it customary for medical students to conduct unsupervised examinations of badly injured persons, even if their findings are later checked by an intern? Was the wet condition of the X-ray plate an adequate excuse for the faulty diagnosis? Why was the radiologist who later discovered the fractured pelvis never identified by name? Was Smith examined after he had fallen from the table? Do hospitals usually discharge patients who, after emergency treatment, are unable to dress themselves, are barefoot, and must be carried out? Why did the police allow this nearly naked, badly injured man to leave the police car nine blocks from his home? Early in the case the reports of the police and the hospital were at variance; what caused the police to be so easily satisfied with the hospital report later on?

Smith's experience suggests the kind of emergency hospital treatment that Negroes receive in many Southern towns. The reaction of the community, fully informed by the unusual publicity given to the case, was also typical. A vigorous demand from any quarter that the responsibility be fixed might have demonstrated that the community did not condone Smith's death. Such a protest might have had a considerable effect upon the future welfare of Negroes in Galveston. It might have given reassurance that there are humane and decent elements in the South whose efforts in behalf of the Negro population justify gradualism and non-intervention by the federal government. But the only faint voice of protest in the Smith case came from the Negroes of Galveston.

In passing it may be pointed out that the white driver of the car that struck Smith was charged with negligent homicide and released on his own recognizance pending a hearing. The case was continued three times and then dismissed. The grand jury failed to fix responsibility not only for the circumstances surrounding Smith's death but also for the accident. Nothing about the Smith case, perhaps, is more typical of similar occurrences in the South than the inconclusive ending—the failure to find the facts.

ALEX GOTTFRIED

[*Alex Gottfried, on leave from the Political Science Department of the University of Washington, has a Ford Foundation fellowship for research.*]

In an Early Issue

THE NEW CHINA

As Seen by an Indian Scholar

One of India's foremost scholars, Dr. V. K. Rao, director of the University School of Economics at New Delhi, tells of his recent trip to Communist China with a group of Indian intellectuals. Dr. Rao is the author of several books which have gained world-wide attention and has represented his country at international food conferences held in Washington, Quebec, and Copenhagen. Combining a cosmopolitan outlook with a keen instinct for reporting, he paints a vivid picture of Red China and presents a number of hitherto unpublished facts.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 174 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 16, 1952 NUMBER 7

The Shape of Things

THE CLAIMS OF ALASKA AND HAWAII TO statehood have long been widely accepted and appear to have the support of a majority of the Congress. Nevertheless, it may prove as difficult to bring these territories into the Union as it is to get Italy admitted to the United Nations. Since Alaska is normally Democratic and Hawaii Republican, a "package deal" ought to be feasible. However, Southern Senators fear that Congressional delegations from the new states would reinforce the proponents of civil rights. Considerations of party loyalty make it a little difficult for them openly to oppose Alaska, and on the theory that it would be easier to pass, supporters of the statehood bills decided to give the Alaska measure precedence. But last week a switch in tactics appeared desirable in view of indications that enough Southern Democrats were prepared to join with Republicans to assure the bill's recommittal—tantamount to burial. At the same time an informal canvass suggested that there were fifty-five votes for Hawaii and perhaps enough to obtain a cloture should Southern threats of a filibuster materialize. If the Hawaiian measure could be passed, it would be impossible, it was felt, to defeat the Alaska bill. At this point Senator Pat McCarran, head of the Senate's Internal Security Investigating subcommittee threw a monkey wrench into the works by announcing his intention to make a protracted inquiry into the menace of communism in Hawaii. The result may well be that both statehood bills will be blocked. Hawaiians, at least, seem to be coming to the end of their patience. They are now beginning to talk about following the example of Tunisia, denied self-government by France, and sending a petition to the United Nations. We hope they do so. That might shame Congress into action.

*

COLLIER'S IS STILL PEDDLING THE MYTH that the United States government thought the magazine's special issue on World War III a capital idea. On February 9 its editorial page boasted that ". . . the State Department has asked and received permission to translate the issue's editorial for reprinting in publications throughout the world." Actually the only request for permission to reprint "The Unwanted War" came from a Falangist-sponsored weekly in Barcelona. Furthermore, Edward W. Barrett, until recently Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, has said that the State Department does not "plan to give the article world-wide distribution" but simply asked *Collier's* for clearance in case there should be "future . . . similar requests." It now appears that such requests are not likely to be granted. *The Nation* has learned that "The Unwanted War" has been stamped by the State Department with a "discretionary mark"—the next thing to an outright refusal to permit reprints.

*

CONGRESS SHOULD ACT IMMEDIATELY TO provide extra unemployment benefits for workers made idle by civilian cutbacks. Under legislation sponsored by Senator Blair Moody, Representative John D. Dingell, and others, the federal government would pay fifty cents for each dollar advanced by the states, and would match, dollar for dollar, the additional compensation provided by some states for dependents. Considering that state unemployment benefits average only $21 a week, a measure of this kind seems imperative, even though it would last only long enough to get the states over the period of conversion. While the proponents of the plan undoubtedly are thinking mainly of the jobless in Michigan, where cutbacks have had particularly serious effects, other sore spots demand attention. The textile workers, for example, have been hit badly by declining sales in men's-wear and other "soft"-goods lines. But in granting relief to the present victims of conversion, Congress should consider the problem of unemployment on a long-term, preventive basis. It is high time some real efforts were made to prevent workers from being penalized each time we shift from a civilian to a defense economy, or vice versa.

*

IN THEORY DEMOCRACY AND MONARCHY are not at all compatible. The one implies sovereignty of the people with equal rights for all citizens; the other sets a man by virtue of his birth apart from and above all others. He may be clever or stupid, good, bad, or indifferent, but he is the king to whom his "subjects" owe homage. Nevertheless, a few nations, notably Britain and the Scandinavian countries, have succeeded not only in reconciling these opposing systems but in making them support each other. In Britain the throne has increased

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 145
Educational TV: The Time Is Now 147
Bonn Feels Its Oats 148

ARTICLES

Another Presidential Appointment *by Willard Shelton* 149
The White House Under Surveillance *by Carey McWilliams* 150
The High Cost of Health *by Keith Hutchison* 152
Germany's Price Goes Up *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 154
The Malthusian Scarecrow *by Josue de Castro* 156

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Documentary of Evil *by Harvey Swados* 158
Israel's Problems *by Marie Syrkin* 158
Myths and Fairy Tales *by Charles Spielberger* 160
Books in Brief 161
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 162
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 162

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 164

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 452
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 164

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Staff Contributors
Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1952, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

its prestige as it has lost its power. It serves as a catalytic agent in the presence of which the strong reactions of political warfare can be carried on without disturbing national stability and unity. Also, as Mr. Churchill said on February 2, "The crown has become the mysterious, indeed, I may say the magic link which unites our loosely bound but strongly interwoven Commonwealth of nations, states, and races." The last significant republican movement in Britain occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century when Queen Victoria indulged in partisanship and showed signs of wishing to enlarge the powers of the crown. Her son, Edward VII, and her grandson, George V, conformed more closely to the constitutional ideal, although both are believed on occasion to have stretched their right to be consulted by the Prime Minister, to encourage certain courses of action, and to warn against others. By contrast George VI, whose reign has been so sadly cut short, seems to have been a model monarch in his relations with both Tory and Labor governments. Certainly he was a popular king, and the people of Britain will not soon forget the way in which he shared their dangers and difficulties when they stood alone against the Axis.

✶

THE KING'S DEATH AND THE ACCESSION OF Queen Elizabeth II will have no direct political consequences but indirectly may prove helpful to the present government. No Englishman could better Mr. Churchill's expression of national sentiment about these events, and the speeches which it is his duty to make will undoubtedly increase his popularity. Moreover, the King's death necessitates a short political moratorium at a most convenient moment for the Prime Minister, who on the day it occurred was under heavy fire in the House of Commons on account of his ambiguous declarations about Far Eastern policy. Again, a period of national mourning will provide a proper psychological atmosphere for the new austerity measures which contrast so dismally with Tory election promises. Finally, the Queen's coronation, whenever it takes place, should give the government an opportunity to stage a great Commonwealth rally in London and attract large numbers of tourists to help right the trade balance. If at this time some relaxation of austerity also proves possible, the stage might be set for a successful appeal to the voters.

✶

CITING THE GREATER PRODUCTIVITY OF Southern labor as its reason, the American Woolen Company has announced that it may shift all its operations from New England to the South. Of the company's twenty-four mills, twenty-one are now located in New England. The average hourly wage of $1.05 for textile workers in the South, as compared with the Northern average of $1.26, may have some bearing on the com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pany's decision. The company has also notified the Textile Workers' Union (C.I.O.) that it has decided not to renew the present contract but to negotiate instead for an entirely new agreement. It would like to have the new contract include a provision which would authorize "greater work assignments," that is, speed-ups. The union contends that nothing in the present contract prevents greater work loads if new production machinery is put into use or if the company can convince an arbitrator that greater work loads are warranted. That American Woolen is not the only textile firm anxious to beat a retreat to the more kindly atmosphere of the South, where vacations with pay, group insurance, and other fringe benefits are virtually unknown, is indicated by the effort of the Utica and Mohawk Cotton Mills to escape from an injunction recently issued to restrain it from moving to South Carolina while a $400,000 suit brought by the union over questions of vacation and separation pay is pending. There has been, of course, a sharp drop in the earnings of the textile industry; but this situation will not be remedied by shifting plants to the regional sweatshop that is the South.

Educational TV: The Time Is Now

THE future of educational television may be decided in the next few weeks. Last March the FCC issued tentative allocations for 1,900 new television stations, of which 207 were reserved for schools and colleges, provided they demonstrated a real interest in obtaining channels. Since then some 500 institutions have applied for such facilities, and the FCC is about to issue a final decision on allocations.

The past year, however, has seen several developments which, while commendable in themselves, increase the likelihood that the FCC may take a narrow view of the policy question it must now decide. It is being argued, for instance, that educational institutions will be unable to raise the necessary funds or organize the facilities for full-time TV operations. The Ford Foundation's million-dollar television-radio workshop, set up to provide commercial networks with significant program material, has been cited as an example of the way educational institutions might cooperate with commercial outlets without going to the expense of establishing separate channels. Senator William Benton's proposed National Citizens' Television Advisory Board has also been discussed as a possible means of achieving the same end.

There is merit in these proposals, as there is also in the suggestion that commercial outlets should be required by law to devote a portion of their telecasting time to educational programs (see *The Nation*, October 13, 1951). These and similar measures might be expected to improve television as a medium for disseminating news, interpretative comment, and entertainment of a better quality. But none of the alternatives thus far advanced can be fairly regarded as an adequate substitute for the allocation of channels for the exclusive use of educational institutions. On this score, we are inclined to share John Crosby's view (New York *Herald Tribune*, January 23, 1952) that "educators will never in this world pry more than a token amount of time from commercial stations." Besides, universities are among the few remaining centers of free, critical inquiry in a society in which the channels of communication are increasingly monopolized. They are, of course, vulnerable to economic and political influences; but the fact that educational channels would not be directly geared to profit-making offers the best hope of a wider and more effective use of television for educational purposes.

Until recently the FCC has seemed to favor the policy of reserving channels for educational institutions. But under constant pressure from commercial interests it has begun to speculate rather gloomily about the possibility of 200 "idle" channels, and some commissioners have suggested that "non-use" of ether waves constitutes unpardonable "waste" of a public resource. That a television channel in the Chicago area should be valued at $10,000,000 is some measure of the weight of the pressures being brought to bear to reduce the number of channels for schools and colleges. Thus there is a real danger that the time a channel reserved for a college may remain unused will be so severely limited that few institutions will be able to raise the funds needed to build stations and organize facilities. This, indeed, is the real issue behind the argument that a policy which encourages telecasting to wider audiences—even mediocre commercial telecasting—is preferable to a policy of holding up allocations in the hope that educators may be able, given sufficient time, to take advantage of them.

Actually the interest shown by schools and colleges in obtaining channels is quite impressive, considering how little the commissioners have done to encourage it—a notable exception being the fine work of Commissioner Frieda Hennock. It is true that more educators have talked about educational television than have set about raising the necessary funds. It is also true that many practical problems must be solved if the financing of educational stations is to proceed with reasonable dispatch. But the fact that at least one community—Wichita, Kansas—has adopted a $5 personal-property tax, with the revenue earmarked for the construction and operation of an educational TV station shows that the difficulties can be surmounted.

Since both the FCC and the industry acknowledge the university's "theoretical potentialities" for television, the commission should be urged to stand by the decision it made last spring to reserve at least 207 channels for edu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cational outlets. Under no circumstances should the FCC permit itself to be pressured into reducing the number of reservations or into placing rigid limits on the time such frequencies may remain unused. In the allocation of channels there is indeed a danger of "waste"—not in the failure to exploit a public resource but in its exploitation for private purposes under the guise of "development." The waste of valuable timber land and mineral resources during the last century in response to a similar argument should sufficiently demonstrate the urgency of close public attention to the issue now before the FCC. The ether waves, too, are part of the public domain.

Bonn Feels Its Oats

IT WAS tactless of the French government, at a moment when plans for German participation in a European army were nearing completion, to change the title of its representative in the Saar from High Commissioner to Ambassador. This move, suggesting that the French were treating the Saar as an independent sovereign state, was bound to raise nationalist passions in West Germany. The Quai d'Orsay must have anticipated this reaction: in fact, it is reported that Allied sources in Germany who were queried in advance gave an accurate forecast of the ensuing outburst. What, then, was the purpose of the French government? Was it trying perhaps to needle Germany into a display of nationalist temper in the course of which Bonn would reveal sooner than it had intended details of the bill for the military services of West Germany? Better a showdown now, the French may have argued, before the European army is finally set up, than later.

Whether or not the French government was thinking along these lines, its move in the Saar has produced such results. No doubt we have still to learn the full price of German cooperation, but the total now revealed by Bonn is certainly high enough to induce all but the most reckless enthusiasts for German rearmament to pause.

Last week, following a two-day debate in the West German Bundestag, the principle of participation in a European army was approved by 204 to 156. However, five other resolutions adopted by a show of hands indicated clearly the conditions which the Adenauer government wishes to attach to an agreement reducing this principle to practice. The first declared that as long as West Germany was not a member of NATO it must be given "military rights appropriate to the idea of a European defense force as a voluntary association of equal partners." According to a Bonn official interrogated by Drew Middleton of the New York *Times*, this obscurely worded demand is a new effort to obtain a German general staff.

The second resolution expressed regret at the naming of a French ambassador to the Saar and asked political freedom for that territory. The third declared that Germany's financial defense contribution must be determined by the same standards as that of other countries. Number four was a significant concession to the old militarist elements—a demand that the Western Allies review the sentences of war criminals "without delay." Finally a resolution, beginning "The occupation regime must come to an end," called for full restoration of German sovereignty with freedom to repeal occupation laws and an end of all controls on German industry.

The nature and scope of these demands show that the West Germans are feeling the oats which we have been assiduously feeding them in the form of daily statements about the indispensability of German rearmament. They indicate also that there are a great many hurdles to be negotiated before the proposed European army materializes. The first demand is particularly tricky. Admission of West Germany to NATO is strongly opposed by France on the very reasonable grounds that it would deprive the Atlantic Pact of its defensive character in view of Bonn's declared aim of recovering lost German territory in the east. On the other hand, the idea that the Germans should be permitted a general staff nullifies the whole purpose of the European-army plan and reintroduces the nightmare that France has been so desperately trying to dispel.

The impudence of the fourth resolution speaks for itself. It is evidence of German determination to expunge the crimes of Nazism by forcing the Allies to admit that they never really took place or, at least, were much exaggerated. As for the demand for the end of the occupation regime, that of course is intended to remove all remaining obstacles to the rebuilding of the German arms industry and to end such reforms as the anti-cartelization laws.

It may shock some people to find that less than seven years after V-E Day, the Germans feel strong enough to put forward such demands. Still more alarming is the fact that they can probably enforce most of them. For as many observers foresaw when the project of rearming West Germany first emerged from the Pentagon in 1950, and as the German expert interviewed by Mr. del Vayo reports, we have dealt Bonn a winning poker hand. Now Chancellor Adenauer is raising the ante and forcing us to pay up. As Drew Middleton wrote in the New York *Times* of February 10: "No one doubts that the West needs Germany, although the degree of the need has been greatly exaggerated by those who think solely in terms of army divisions. But the Germans no longer need the West as much as they did, and in the future they will need it still less. . . . It must be expected that the leaders of the Federal Republic will become more difficult, not easier, to deal with in the future, especially in the months between now and next year's election."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Presidential Appointment

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, February 6

PRESIDENT TRUMAN today picked an obscure Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Dale E. Doty, to fill the vacancy on the Federal Power Commission left by the departure last October of Mon C. Wallgren, who in sixteen months of service had thoroughly besmirched the commission's fine record of defending the public interest against predatory electric and natural-gas companies. Nothing derogatory is known about Mr. Doty. For a number of years he has been a protégé of Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, one of the few important officials in the Administration who have fought for consumer interests. But the public should be told how Mr. Truman's "friends" managed to block the appointment of candidates for the post whose records entitled them to serious consideration.

One of these candidates was Raymond S. McKeough, a former Democratic Representative from Illinois who had made a fine reputation on the old Maritime Commission. Another was Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, who as a Democratic Representative from Connecticut had shown herself to be a dependable liberal. A third was a member of the FPC's professional staff eminently qualified for promotion by his knowledge of the field. McKeough had the powerful backing of Frank E. McKinney, chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Mrs. Woodhouse was the second choice of Mrs. India Edwards, head of the committee's women's division. Support from the National Committee, it turned out, was no help.

McKinney's efforts in behalf of McKeough were opposed by President Truman's secretary, Matt Connelly, and his administrative assistant for personnel, Donald S. Dawson. McKeough was called a "trouble-maker." His "loyalty" to the President was questioned. The only conceivable explanation for these charges is that he was the one member of the old Maritime Commission who had refused to approve loose accounting practices and scandalous subsidies to private ship operators, the one member who had escaped scathing Congressional criticism, the one member whose actions had not invited attack on the Administration.

When McKinney continued to support McKeough, he met other obstacles. McKeough was said to have the backing of a former celebrated New Dealer whom the President detests—the "kiss of death." It was reported that Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, would refuse to allow McKeough's confirmation. To the question what Johnson had against McKeough nobody has given a clear-cut answer, but his opposition is amply confirmed.

Had the President been well advised, he would have known that he was badly in need of a liberal of tested quality to replace Wallgren. In 1950 Mr. Truman vetoed the Kerr natural-gas bill, which would have relieved "independent" gas companies of FPC regulation of their rates. Last August, Wallgren in effect annulled the veto in the specific case of the Phillips Petroleum Company by a written decision that the FPC had never possessed any authority over the rates charged by independent gas companies. The Wallgren opinion and the President's message vetoing the Kerr bill were in direct contradiction. A public-utilities magazine, hailing the FPC decision, frankly exulted that Wallgren had given the natural-gas industry everything it could have hoped for under the Kerr bill—and perhaps more.

The Kerr bill was fought by Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois and Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee as prejudicial to consumers. It was also opposed by William M. Boyle, Jr., then chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Secretary Chapman. Douglas estimated that if the bill were passed, consumers would soon be paying from $200,000,000 to $300,000,000 a year more in gas rates, and called it a "five-to-ten-billion-dollar bonanza" for the gas producers. Republicans hoped the President would sign the measure and thus prove that he gave only lip-service to the interests of consumers; the majority of Senate Republicans voted against the bill. When Mr. Truman's veto was announced, Senator Douglas said, "God bless the President of the United States!"

Then everything was undone by Wallgren. The professional staff of the FPC frankly admitted that the decision in the Phillips case was contrary to their judgment. Unless it is reversed, independent gas companies are left completely unregulated as to rates, and consumers will pay through the nose. Gas-pipe-line operators, encouraged by the trend of events, are beating at the doors of the commission demanding to be allowed to raise their rates, and if the requested increases go through, state and local regulatory bodies will have no choice but to allow local retailers of gas to raise prices.

Mr. Doty, Truman's appointee, may prove an excellent commissioner. In the cockpit of FPC controversies, where powerful industrialists and members of Congress fight for the spoils, he may reveal the granite-like qualities needed for public service. One hopes so. Thomas Buchanan, the one FPC commissioner who disagreed with the Phillips decision and wrote a brilliant dissenting opinion, must feel lonely these days in his job. Unfortunately it has been made reasonably clear that honest and genuine service to the people—service which does credit to the Administration instead of provoking criticism for laxity and impropriety—is not always rewarded. Not when the White House cronies see a chance to intervene.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The White House Under Surveillance

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

THE witch hunt has now been extended to the highest echelons of American business and government, and even to the White House. This was bound to happen sooner or later. Once the informer is officially sanctioned—as by the Attorney General of the United States urging college students to tell tales on their instructors, or by Edgar Hoover beseeching taxicab drivers to help him catch spies—he becomes all-powerful; literally no one is immune from his prying and tattling.

This was clearly established by the witch hunt in the wake of World War I. At first only anarchists and wobblies were beaten up and kicked around, but from 1921 to 1924 the FBI, with J. Edgar Hoover as assistant director, put Senators and Representatives under surveillance—rifled their files, examined their mail bags, got servants in their homes to report on their actions; it even set a watch on a federal judge. The story is being repeated today but with variations in scale and tempo.

On January 28, for example, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy gave the press a copy of a letter he had sent to Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief of *Time*, demanding that *Time* withdraw certain charges. Coupled with the demand was the threat that if the magazine did not comply promptly, the Senator would place his case before "all of your advertisers." In this impudent note Mr. Luce was accused—I imagine for the first time in his career—of "rendering almost unlimited service to the Communist cause and undermining America." The basis of this horrendous charge was simply that *Time* had dared criticize Joseph R. McCarthy. A year or so back it was Adam Hats and Drew Pearson that felt the Senator's lash; today the most powerful magazine publisher in America is his victim. Nor is McCarthy's threat an idle one. Should the present witch hunt continue unabated, it is conceivable that even Mr. Luce could be made to toe the line.

Consider the extraordinary "leak" of confidential information from the Loyalty Review Board to Senator McCarthy. Commenting on McCarthy's evident access to the board's records, the Washington *Post* said on January 18: "It is plain that some person inside the Loyalty Review Board is giving classified material to Senator McCarthy . . . and is thus guilty of one of the specific activities which the executive order directs the Loyalty Review Board to consider in connection with the determination of disloyalty." Such a statement carries serious implications. The board has been converted into an instrument in a partisan struggle for power. If informers have infiltrated the Loyalty Review Board, they are doubtless to be found in the Pentagon, in the offices of Congressmen, among the clerical staff of the Supreme Court, and perhaps in the White House.

Two recent incidents show that this supposition is not groundless. On January 29 Senator McCarthy charged that Philleo Nash, a member of President Truman's staff, had been named in FBI reports as a person who had had close connections with Communists in the 1940's. The Senator, of course, offered no proof that the reports were correct, but suppose they were. How does it happen that McCarthy has access to confidential files of the FBI? Can there be informers in the FBI? One would prefer to believe this than to have to conclude that J. Edgar Hoover himself has been feeding information to McCarthy, but the circumstances warrant the latter inference.

Or consider the case of David Lloyd, a highly respected special assistant to the President. In 1950 charges were made against Mr. Lloyd by Senator McCarthy on the basis of information supplied by "sources at the Loyalty Review Board." Since no supporting evidence was offered, formal charges were never filed and no hearing was held. McCarthy now claims that the Lloyd case was closed on orders from the White House. If this is true, how does Senator McCarthy happen to know it? Has he an informer in the White House or on the Loyalty Review Board, or is he able, like the man in the Marcel Ayme story, to walk through stone walls? The Lloyd and Nash incidents indicate that the White House itself is now under surveillance, a conclusion also implicit in the Max Lowenthal incident.

On January 24, 1952, Representative George A. Dondero of Michigan viciously attacked Lowenthal on the floor of the House, charging that he was "back on the Washington scene" and had "recently almost succeeded in dealing a death blow to the government's program in prosecuting Communists." According to Dondero, Lowenthal was "the architect of the plan to fire J. Howard McGrath" and to name Justin Miller as his successor. Dondero said further: "I am . . . keeping my eye peeled to find out what he is doing now, in the hope that when it is discovered I can expose it here before the Congress of the United States and the American people." Anyone familiar with Dondero's assault upon modern abstract artists as agents of the Kremlin would dread to be "exposed" by him; he is a man with a powerful, if erratic, political imagination.

Max Lowenthal, the target of this attack, is a well-known New York lawyer. He was counsel for one of the Truman investigations for several years and has remained

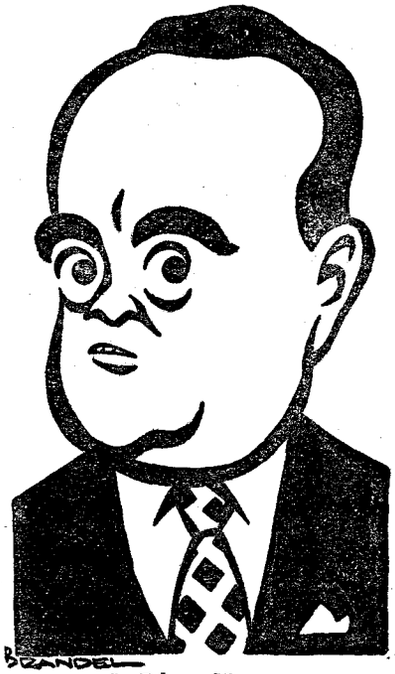
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a close friend of Mr. Truman's. Just before his book, "The Federal Bureau of Investigation," was published in 1950, Mr. Lowenthal was subpoenaed to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The book was highly critical of the FBI, and extraordinary pressures, first to prevent its publication and later to impede its sales, were brought to bear on Lowenthal and his publishers. But these efforts failed, and the staff of the House committee were equally unable "to lay a hand" on the book's author. Last spring Lowenthal repeated his criticism of the FBI in a paper which he read before a conference on law enforcement sponsored by the Law School of the University of Chicago. In this paper, entitled "Police Methods in Crime Detection and Counter-Espionage," he maintained that by "placing under police scrutiny the thoughts, the beliefs, the reading matter, and the circle of acquaintances of large numbers of Americans," the FBI had created an atmosphere in which spies were able to operate more freely than before the witch hunt began. It can be imagined that Mr. Hoover, as sensitive to criticism as his friend Walter Winchell, did not take this statement lightly.

WASHINGTON observers confirm the plain implication of Dondero's speech—that Lowenthal had been at the White House and had talked with the President. No responsible person, however, confirms the alleged "plot," to quote the Chicago *Tribune's* characterization of the supposed interview. In any case one wonders how Representative Dondero knew what was said in a conversation between the President and Mr. Lowenthal? Both are seasoned public men with a reputation for respecting confidences. Conceivably the White House staff of 300 workers contains one or more informers. Another possible inference—the more likely the more one studies Dondero's speech of January 24—is that informers or those occasional "informants" of the FBI whom its chief generally indorses as "confidential" or "reliable" have had Lowenthal and the White House under surveillance for some time.

The close friendship between J. Edgar Hoover and Dondero is a matter of common knowledge. According to the New York *Post* of January 25, "Dondero, like Winchell, has frequently displayed notably close connections with the FBI." In 1946 Dondero told his colleagues in the House that he had spent long hours with J. Edgar Hoover, getting confidential information about spies and such. In an earlier attack on Lowenthal in 1947 Dondero asserted that he knew what the FBI knew or claimed to know about Lowenthal. At the time of the attempt to suppress Lowenthal's book in 1950, it was Dondero who made the chief speech against Lowenthal in Congress.

Supporting the inference that the FBI is keeping tabs on the White House is a little-noticed but significant fact. The Secret Service, which is under the Treasury Department, has always had the responsibility for protecting the White House and the President. Secret Service agents see everyone who goes into the White House offices or the President's study. The time, to the hour and minute, of everything that happens in the White House, including all arrivals and departures, is carefully noted. Secret Service agents are in the White House all night. They watch the switchboards, guard the files—can see any papers left on the desks. If the FBI had this function, it would have innumerable opportunities to acquire power at the highest decision-making levels.



J. Edgar Hoover

J. Edgar Hoover has long sought to deprive the Secret Service of this high responsibility and to acquire it for the FBI. The Herbert Hoover Commission recommended such a transfer. Up to the present, however, J. Edgar has failed to win the White House prize, though he has never given up hope that it would some day be his. In the meantime he has wangled thousands of dollars of special appropriations from Congress for the "protection" of the President, protection which the present incumbent of the White House has never asked for. It is well known that President Truman, since the days when he was a Senator, has looked with disfavor on the FBI's repeated bid for new powers. It was in part to curb the bureau that he appointed the Nimitz Commission last year to survey internal security problems; and it was Hoover's influence in Congress that scuttled the commission. Not for years has the Department of Justice been in any sense independent of the FBI; Hoover has been the master-mind of the witch hunt.

Today President Truman is thoroughly aware that he is a major target of the more audacious witch-hunters. He is far too astute not to know that the FBI supplies McCarthy with information. The President has surely noted the FBI's failure to deny that it has been feeding information to Dondero, McCarthy, and other enemies of the Administration. Back in 1950 Wisconsin newspapers published an indorsement of McCarthy by J. Edgar Hoover—the statement is said to have helped "rebuild" McCarthy at a time when his prestige was at a low ebb.

Thus in the first weeks of 1952 it has become clear —if it was not always clear—that literally no Ameri-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can is beyond the reach of witch-hunters or the vicious activities of informers. If the FBI, or "confidential informants" of the type constituting one of the main sources of FBI information or misinformation, can shadow the White House without the President's knowledge or consent, then no agency of government is immune. Does the FBI have its eye on Justices Black and Douglas? Has it shadowed Judge Delbert Metzger in Hawaii? What Senator or Representative can today feel sure that the FBI does not have some "confidential informant" in his office, reading his mail, jotting down the names of visitors?

The shadow that has now fallen on the White House fell long ago across every government agency, most factories, many businesses, and literally millions of American homes. Few institutions of higher learning can ignore the informers in their midst. This shadow might still be dispelled if people of power and influence could be induced to speak out, as some of them finally did in the 1920's. But many of these people are now intimidated, or hesitant for other reasons. In Wisconsin, Governor Kohler has finally decided not to oppose McCarthy, thus insuring the latter's renomination. The day that McCarthy attacked Henry Luce, the Senate Rules subcommittee, weakened by the resignation of Margaret Chase Smith, met "inconclusively," in an atmosphere "strongly indicating that no action was likely to be taken" to carry out its previous decision to investigate Senator Benton's charges against McCarthy. That project would now seem to be as dead as the dodo. A House committee has voted to investigate the Department of Justice—meaning Attorney General J. Howard McGrath—but there is not the slightest likelihood that it will question J. Edgar Hoover on his relations with McCarthy and Dondero and other political enemies of the Administration.

Those who want to roll back the "black shadow of fear"—the phrase is Justice William O. Douglas's—now enveloping so large an area of American life must realize that behind the McCarthys stand those who really direct the witch hunt; behind the puppet is the puppeteer. Joe McCarthy, like Charlie, is a puppet; but who pulls the strings? Congress could easily find out if it investigated the FBI as it did in 1924. At least once every twenty-five years J. Edgar Hoover should be required to answer a few questions, and the questioning should be done, as Max Lowenthal stated in his Chicago speech, by "a staff of such courage and independence that it can decline to rest on the assertion of the [FBI] and can insist on answers. . . ."

The High Cost of Health

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

AMONG the many rising items in the rising cost of living is medical care, including pre-paid medical insurance, the panacea which the American Medical Association offers us as a safe substitute for the horrors of "socialized medicine." On May 1 both the Associated Hospital Service (Blue Cross) and the United Medical Service (Blue Shield) of New York will advance their subscription rates. Group membership in the first, which provides coverage against hospital fees, will in the future cost $1.60 a month for an individual instead of $1.24, and $4.36 for a family instead of $3.56. Moreover, married couples without children, who at present pay $2.72 a month, are to be charged the full family rate. Such couples, it is explained, are mostly elderly and require, on the average, as much service as families with children.

The United Medical Service provides either surgical care and in-hospital medical care or surgical care only. Its rates for the more complete service are to increase from 72 cents to 88 cents monthly for an individual, from $1.64 to $2.00 for husband and wife, and from $2.96 to $3.40 for a family.

As a result of these changes the total cost of family coverage against illnesses and accidents requiring hospitalization will be $93.12 a year. And this not inconsiderable item is of course only a part and often quite a small part of the average family's health budget. Moreover, Blue Shield only meets surgeons' and physicians' bills in full when the subscriber's income is under a quite modest level—$4,000 for a family or $2,500 for an individual. In other cases the patient receives a credit which is usually well below the doctor's fee.

Writing of the Blue Shield type of contract in the *Atlantic Monthly* of October, 1950, Dr. James Howard Means, professor of clinical medicine at Harvard University, said: "While these plans are of some assistance in aiding surgeons and obstetricians to collect their fees, and while they act as a bit of a cushion for the patient facing a big bill for a surgical or obstetrical procedure, they obviously have glaring deficiencies. For one thing, they probably do not cover more than one-sixth of the average family's annual doctor's bill, so that they are hardly more than a token of economic aid."

If my own experience is at all typical for middle-income families, Dr. Means errs on the side of moderation. In the past seven years Blue Cross and Blue Shield premiums have accounted for about one-tenth of my an-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nual medical expenses, as reported for income tax, which have averaged from 7½ to 10 per cent of total income. Yet in this period we have had no long or serious illnesses in the family and only one operation, entailing three days in hospital, on which occasion I recovered from Blue Cross and Blue Shield about half my expenses. Another year I developed an infection which proved to be relatively mild but which produced in its early stages some symptoms alarming to my doctor. As a result, a specialist was called in and I was subjected to some elaborate tests. The upshot was reassuring, but the total expense of this illness, exceeding $300, was decidedly debilitating to my bank account; since no hospitalization was involved nothing was recoverable from the insurance plans. However, this was exceptional, and the real burden of the family's annual health bill is due to what may be called routine expenses for check-ups, care of teeth and eyes, minor ailments, and prescriptions.

There are prepaid medical-insurance schemes that cover a good many of these expenses. One of them, the Farmers' Union Hospital Association of Elk City, Oklahoma, was described in *The Nation* of February 2. That group suffered from boycott by the local medical society; and similar bodies, such as the Group Health Association of Washington, the Permanente Health Plan in California, and the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, have also been criticized and obstructed by organized medicine, which appears to view them as only slightly less dangerous than government health insurance.

Despite obstacles, such plans have found wide acceptance in the few areas where they have been tried. New York's H. I. P., for instance, has now more than 280,000 members, although it accepts only employee groups and their families. Its members are entitled to choose a family doctor from a long list of general practitioners, and to receive medical, surgical, and specialist care at home, at doctors' offices, and in hospital. The service includes regular health examinations, immunization and tests, maternity and child care, eye examinations, physical therapy, X-ray examinations and treatments, psychiatric examinations, visiting nurses, and the use of an ambulance when necessary. It does not cover dental care, prescribed drugs, biologicals, appliances, treatments for acute alcoholism or drug addiction, or mental disorders requiring institutional treatment. It also excludes hospital costs, but members are required to carry hospitalization insurance so as to complete their protection.

There are no plans, I am told, for increasing H. I. P. subscription rates at the present time. On the contracts covering employees and families they range from $34.32 annually for an employee with no dependents to $103.48 for one with two or more dependents. This applies to those with family incomes not exceeding $6,500 or to single employees earning up to $5,000. Those with greater incomes pay about 50 per cent more. Thus for the lower-bracket family the combination of H. I. P. and Blue Cross will cost $155.80 annually after May 1. With dental care and other excluded items added, the total health bill is not likely to be less than $200 and may be considerably more.

SINCE this is probably the broadest and most satisfactory plan for meeting health expenses now available to Americans, it is interesting to compare its costs with those of the British Health Service, which has much broader coverage even when allowance is made for the trimming of benefits just proposed by the Tory government. The British service, as its critics are so fond of telling us, is not really "free"; like education in this country it is paid for through taxes, on the ground that health is as much a matter of public concern as literacy. The gross cost in 1949-50 was $1,220,800,000, or 3.6 per cent of total consumer expenditure. This amounted to $24.31 per capita, or $97.24 for a family of four.

In this country total private expenditure for medical services and commodities in 1949 has been estimated at $7,900,000,000, about 11 per cent of which was covered by voluntary insurance benefits and indemnities.* This was 4.4 per cent of total consumer expenditure in that year and amounted to $54 per capita, or $212 per family of four.

Of course many American families don't spend anything like that sum on health: they can't afford the money and in many cases don't get the medical care even when they need it desperately. The New York *World-Telegram* of January 29 published a report from Big Stone Gap, Virginia, about a mother who set out over a mountain trail with a sick baby to reach a hospital. A neighbor explained that three doctors had been called before they found one "who talked like he was going to come. That one asked whether Mrs. Hazelwood had any money in the house." She did not, and the upshot was the baby died of pneumonia a few minutes after its mother reached the hospital. After investigating this case, Dr. E. J. Benko, chairman of the Wise County Medical Society's Board of Censors, said, according to the New York *Herald Tribune* of January 30, that a doctor is "a damn fool to go out without knowing whether he is going to get paid." County doctors, he added, are willing to accept charity cases, "but nobody wants to get stuck with a dead beat."

I don't imagine that story could be duplicated in Britain, where since the Health Service started, a baby's right to life has been a civic right and not a matter of charity. But until health care in this country is provided on the basis of need instead of ability to pay, such human sacrifices are likely to be among the costs of private-enterprise medicine.

*I. S. Falk, Director, Division of Research and Statistics, Social Security Agency, in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1951.

arles C. Sherrod Library
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Germany's Price Goes Up

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, February 2

THE other day I talked for several hours with a German who by reason of his official position thoroughly understands the "German problem." No one could suspect him of being friendly to Russia—in fact, he criticized Russian policy severely—but he was convinced that the German policy of the Atlantic powers had taken a dangerous turn. His view of the present situation and of the way it is likely to develop is worth passing on to American readers.

"Throughout Germany," he said, "the people are doing their best. In this respect they cannot be criticized. West Germany has a great deal of unemployment and is burdened with the refugees from the east. East Germany, far from being troubled with unemployment, needs workers badly. But West Germany is benefiting from a great influx of foreign private capital. Copious funds are being made available, partly because no controls have been imposed on the economy and partly because Western policy favors Germany above other European countries. The product of West German industry, moreover, is in great demand for Atlantic defense. East Germany has the advantage of lower prices; many West Germans go to the Soviet-controlled eastern zone to buy food. The shop windows in the West are filled with luxuries like oranges, which are almost never seen in the east, but Soviet propaganda asserts that the east zone's cheap potatoes are a still stronger attraction. The difference in the cost of living in the two zones has slowed the stream of refugees flowing westward."

Since the question of German rearmament is now so urgent, I asked him how the Germans themselves felt about it.

"In general," he said, "they are not enthusiastic. In recent Gallup polls even young people have been 70 per cent against remilitarization. But this spontaneous opposition is counteracted by outside pressures. Young people in Germany today feel terribly confused, just as they do in other European countries. In East Germany they parade and make speeches to the satisfaction of the Soviet authorities and seem converted to communism, but I will wager that one day they will march against Russia. And in West Germany the same young men who are now talking about enlisting in a European army will some day march against France. The only strong, genuine emotion in either group is devotion to Germany and to the idea of a reunited Germany.

"West German youth call themselves 'democratic and anti-militarist,' but recently their attitude has been somewhat affected by the growth of such organizations as the Bund Deutscher Jugend. Being rabidly anti-Communist, this group has received strong financial support and greatly increased its membership. The Bundesjugendring, which is made up of young people of widely varying views and usually takes a democratic position, has not shown itself very 'cooperative' on the question of rearmament and is not so well off for funds. But of course the attitude of the youth, though important, is not decisive with the Bonn government."

I then asked Herr—— if he would permit me a direct question: Did he himself favor the rearmament of Germany?

"In the form in which it is at present conceived, no," he replied; "in its original form, with the Germans' military contribution kept to proper proportions, yes. If Germans will help defend their own country only for a price, and that price is that they shall be treated as the most privileged member of the European community and be allowed to destroy every seed of future German democracy, then, as a liberal, I hope they do not get their price. I do not want to see former S. S. officers strutting through the streets as our new masters. I am outraged when I hear a man like Frauenfeld, the ex-Gauleiter of Austria, say that Hitler's S. S. were "élite European troops." It is bad enough that at this very moment the S. S. is preparing for a great 'reunion' in Germany, to which former Nazis are coming from Spain and Argentina and the other countries where they have been trying to revive the Nazi movement."

I put in a question: "Don't the Germans know that by making too many demands they may come a cropper?"

"Chancellor Adenauer knows it, but he is under constant pressure from his entourage to extract every possible advantage from the American interest in German rearmament. The other day I said to a high government official that this was no time to talk about rectifying the eastern frontier. He replied that if the Germans were not given satisfaction in this matter, there would be no German divisions: the Allies could take their choice. I said that in the present difficult international situation the Allies could not raise that question without seeming to be directly provoking Russia. He insisted that the Allies must secure the return of the eastern provinces to Germany, compensate Poland with Russian territory, and make it up to Russia in some other way. How, for instance, I asked him. Well, he said, there is Yugoslavia. If the Allies would let Russia take over Yugoslavia, Moscow would gladly make a deal. I observed that the policy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the West was to protect the independence of Yugoslavia against Russia. He answered with a smile that Allied policy frequently changed—it had changed toward Franco and might toward Tito.

"Several things are behind the Germans' exigent attitude. There was the speech of High Commissioner McCloy on December 17 pointing out that the United States had a 'German policy in reserve, in addition to the European army.' More important was the action of Mr. Harriman, head of the Mutual Security Agency, in choosing William H. Draper as his personal representative in Europe. Mr. Draper is remembered as one who rendered the German ruling class many services when he was General Clay's right-hand man: among other things he retracted earlier decrees concerning demilitarization and the dissolution of industrial cartels. But the chief reason for Bonn's increasing boldness is found in the reports from Washington that the American military planners, seeing that efforts to build a European defense community were bogged down, had decided to separate the problem of German rearmament from the problem of European unification, instead of making one conditional on the other, as the French demanded. I have cited only public and well-known occurrences, but I might also speak of the secret encouragement given to the German generals by American military men who have asked them to help pick the officers for the future European army."

"It is said the British have obtained better results than the Americans in reeducating the Germans for democracy. Is that true?"

"Perhaps to some extent. But in general all attempts at democratization have been a failure. Did you hear about what happened at a UNESCO meeting the other day, here in Paris? A hundred German students were invited by the Allies to come to Paris to learn about the work of the specialized U. N. agencies. They were shown a number of films, one of which referred in restrained terms to the crimes of the Nazis. The German students rose in a body and left the room!

"The idea of remilitarization was repugnant to almost everybody a few months ago. But since the Germans have discovered that if they rearm, their country can become again the leading power in Europe, the opposition is dissolving. Those in favor are still a minority, but when they say that rearmament will win for Germany the financial and political support of the most powerful nation on earth, the United States, they have an effective argument. No country is recovering more rapidly or feels more confident of the future than Germany. Its faith in itself is confirmed by the stock market: West German industrial stocks which two months ago sold on the Paris Bourse for 900 francs have gone up to 5,000."

I asked how the Germans felt about the European army.

"Just when it seemed that agreement on a European defense system was going to be reached, after great difficulty, in Paris, the whole plan was jeopardized by Germany's demand to be accepted into NATO. This was carrying the equal-rights theory to extremes. And instead of trying to allay French anxiety, Bonn chose to emphasize that a new and powerful Wehrmacht would emerge from the plan for a European army, which theoretically was supposed to be able to restrain German ambitions. At about the same time Bonn reacted brusquely to the appointment of High Commissioner Granval as French ambassador to the Saar. It is interesting to note that the Socialists objected even more strongly than the Chancellor, reproaching Adenauer for his 'concessions' to France and demanding a firm policy on the Saar. In these domestic struggles the winner is always the same military and industrial clique which caused the two world wars. Seeing Germany courted by the Americans, this clique is now resolved to make the United States pay the highest possible price for German rearmament.

"The Nazis, of course, are pleased by this development. A year ago people would get excited when a known Nazi who had been prudently lying low was appointed to a government ministry or to the board of directors of a big industrial enterprise. Nowadays that happens so often that only a foreign correspondent recently arrived in Germany would see a story in it. But the chief difference between a year ago and today is that Nazis then were satisfied to get good jobs in the civil administration or in private business while now they have trained their sights on the future German army. Many of the majors, captains, lieutenants, and sergeants of the new German divisions, the officers who mold an army's character, will be active Nazis. In the beginning these divisions will owe allegiance to a supra-national 'Europe,' but soon they will become an embryo German army, and as the result of German experience over the past five years a belligerent and aggressive army. Americans who are shocked that France retains its traditional distrust of Germany should remember the long past. A man in Colorado, living four thousand miles from the Rhine, views German rearmament very differently from a Frenchman who realizes that while the Russians *may* attack France, the Germans *have* attacked it many times.

"Some people think it will take at least two years to rearm West Germany. This is a gross miscalculation. They forget the most important factor in German rearmament—the 'cadres.' While France is stripped of its new officers by the Indo-Chinese war, which absorbs each year an entire class of Saint-Cyr graduates, Germany has on hand more officers than it can use. The organizations of veterans, of former officers, that have been revived during the past year or so are already at work selecting the 'cadres' of the new German divisions. These are officers trained in the war against Russia—a fact that increases their value. The German military program is much farther

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

advanced than official comments in NATO would lead you to believe."

"Do you think the French reaction will induce a diplomatic retreat on the Germans' part?" I asked.

"I am afraid not. France has been forced to yield ground continuously in the past twelvemonth, and the Germans are flushed with victory. France is likely to find itself facing such a strong Germany that the desired economic union with the Saar will prove as impossible as it was in 1935. Soon, if events continue on their present course, Germany will have the strongest army in Western Europe. That will cause forebodings in Europeans who recall Germany's resurgence after Jena and after Versailles. The demand of the leading Bonn diplomat, Hallstein, that Germany be admitted to NATO can be ignored for a time—it may not even be discussed at the coming meeting of the Atlantic Council in Lisbon—but it will probably be granted in the end."

I asked how he thought Russia would react to this.

"I shall not venture an opinion on that. Moscow continues to support Grotewohl's unity campaign and offer of free elections, but I am inclined to think it has little faith in his success. To answer West German rearmament by arming East Germany would not seem an adequate counter-move. A remilitarized West Germany supported by the enormous industrial potential of the United States would constitute such a threat to Russia that one can hardly expect it to remain idle while the plan is carried through. How it can block the process is a question. At one time it seemed possible that to prevent German rearmament Russia would even go to war. But recently Soviet diplomats have given the impression that they are equally concerned with other issues, such as the nationalist movements in Asia and the Middle East. I do not believe that Egypt is nearly so important to Russia as Germany, but if Moscow could convince the Allies that it might give way in the Middle and Far East in return for the abandonment of German rearmament, it might cause a split between the French and the Anglo-Americans."

"Then you believe that the danger of a violent Russian reaction to German rearmament has passed?"

"By no means. There will be constant danger of it, in my opinion, for the next few months."

The Malthusian Scarecrow

JOSUE DE CASTRO

AFTER a lapse of fifty years the Malthusian theory has again come into vogue. Malthus, it will be recalled, spent the greater part of his life gathering statistics to prove that while the world's population increased geometrically, the world's food supply increased arithmetically. The inference, of course, was that a point would be reached at which the population could no longer be fed. Periodically the Malthusian theory has enjoyed a wide appeal; its popularity today is merely the latest of a number of similar resurrections. Are we really incapable of producing the food we need? The neo-Malthusians say "yes," but are they right?

Malthus was the victim of a basic mistake, for he took as his starting point the rate of population growth in the United States at the end of the eighteenth century, when political and economic conditions placed a premium on large families. During the next century his theory was partly borne out by the facts, but by 1900 the net reproduction rate had fallen so sharply in Western Europe that its validity was questioned. And the rate has continued to fall during the past fifty years. According to figures released by the National Resources Committee in 1941, the net reproduction rate for Sweden was then only .84, which means that the number of births was more than offset by the number of deaths. In 1939 the rate for France was down to 0.9, for Germany (1938) to 0.99, and for the United States to 1.01. More recent figures are not available, but once the post-war "boom" in babies has subsided there is every reason to believe that the net reproduction rate will continue to fall in Western Europe and in this country. In the Far East the facts bear out Malthus's theory somewhat better, but whether the rate of population growth will continue to increase there seems, in the light of European experience, rather doubtful. Even if we concede Malthus's theory of population increase, his views on the world's food supply are clearly erroneous.

Contrary to Malthus's prediction, food production can undoubtedly keep pace with a rising birth rate. At the present time only about 10 per cent of the earth's arable land is being cultivated, and the yield of most of this could be doubled by the scientific use of new machinery, fertilizers, planting techniques, insecticides, and hybrids. The World Food Survey conducted by the U. N. reported not long ago that with modern methods India could increase its production of wheat as much as 50 per

JOSUE DE CASTRO is head of the Institute of Nutrition of the University of Brazil and chairman of the Executive Council of the U. N. Food and Agriculture Organization. This article is taken from his forthcoming book, "Geography of Hunger," to be published by Little, Brown.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cent. If only 20 per cent of the uncultivated arable land in Africa and South America were plowed and planted, we should have nine billion more acres producing food. A hundred million more acres could be farmed in Oceania. Development of 10 per cent of the arable land in Russia and Canada now untilled would mean an additional three billion acres.

The population of the world increases by 1 per cent every year, but improvements in farming alone have raised the output of food 1½ per cent a year. The United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics has reported that during the five-year period 1941-46 the American farmer "produced enough food each year to feed 50,000,000 more people than could have been fed at comparable dietary levels during the last five years of the 1930's." And this increase, the bureau says, was achieved with 10 per cent fewer men in the fields, most of it being due to new fertilizers and insecticides and the development of new types of seed and livestock.

Increasing the acreage under cultivation and the output per acre are only two means of increasing the food supply. Many sources of food have not yet been exploited. The sea produces vegetables, such as placto, which have high nutritional value. Chroella, an alga which can be grown commercially in tanks and fed with minerals, is rich in proteins. A single installation could raise enough of it to supply the proteins needed by three million people and the fats for one and a half million. This would be roughly equivalent to the production of 150,000 acres of good arable land. New plants rich in mineral content, such as the broelizceas (*Broelia lacinicea mart*) of Brazil, which contain fifteen times as much calcium as milk does, are being studied for commercial planting. Besides these new natural sources, science is every day discovering ways to manufacture nutrients. An experimental factory in Jamaica is already producing synthetic foodstuffs, and similar projects are being set up in other countries. In the 1930's German factories turned out tons of synthetic fats.

DESPITE these known facts the Malthusian theory still has supporters. As theories have often done, it survives the facts which contradict it because it can be used to rationalize various interests and situations. During the nineteenth century, for example, the Malthusian theory was used to justify starvation wages. If wages were raised above subsistence levels, it was argued, the birth rate would rise, and eventually there would be "overpopulation" and famine. Just recently William Vogt, a prominent neo-Malthusian, author of "Road to Survival," asserted that starvation in China and elsewhere was "desirable" from the point of view of keeping population and food supply in balance. In one form or another this view is today widely held in the West.

Leaving aside the question of "desirability," there are two reasons why starvation does not solve the problem of a rising birth rate. In the first place, cutting the population down to meet the size of the available food supply is about as logical as tailoring the man to fit the suit. The second, more important, reason is that starvation does *not* reduce population growth. Contrary to popular belief, starvation actually causes overpopulation instead of being caused by it. Paradoxical as it may seem, if we were to feed the hungry in India and other places, the birth rates in those nations would begin to drop. China, India, Egypt, and the Latin American countries, with the lowest nutritional levels in the world, have the highest rates of population growth. In contrast, the populations of countries which boast a high standard of living are declining because the birth rate is falling.

Although starvation reduces the sex drive, people who are subject to persistent malnutrition are sexually stimulated. The psychological effect of chronic hunger is to increase the importance of sex in compensation for the loss of nutritional appetite. The high fertility index of undernourished persons has a physical cause. Enough is known about protein metabolism today to enable us to trace the actual process by which protein deficiency leads to increased fertility. Fecundation in women is closely related to the amount of estrogen produced in the system. Now since the liver controls the amount of estrogen which is put into the blood stream, anything that impairs the natural functioning of the liver will affect fertility. Protein deficiencies lead to cirrhosis and fatty degeneration of the liver, which in turn cause the release of more estrogen and an increase in reproductive capacity. Sexual appetite, a determinant of fertility, also depends on the amount of estrogen in the system.

A comparison of the rates of population growth in Japan before and after the last war confirms the belief that starvation is one of the main causes of increased reproduction. At the end of the war the average ration for the civilian population in Japan was only about 1,000 calories a day. (The Medical Division of the Bombing Survey reveals that in Kyoto, which had not been bombed, the adult population had lost an average of ten pounds per person, while 65 per cent of the total population had lost about twenty pounds each.) Two years after the beginning of the Allied occupation the daily ration had been increased only to 1,240 calories a day, still almost a thousand calories short of the required minimum. And yet from 1945 to 1949 the increase of births over deaths was 5,100,000—an increase without precedent in the demographic history of Japan. This fact alone refutes the neo-Malthusians, who view starvation as the answer to the "threat" of overpopulation.

The empty sleeve of the Malthusian scarecrow has flapped in the winds of prejudice for a century and a half, but science and history have finally shown that no one need take it seriously.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

Documentary of Evil

SPARK OF LIFE. By Erich Maria Remarque. Translated from the German by James Stern. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $3.75.

ERICH MARIA REMARQUE'S new novel represents another instalment in the payment of his membership dues in the human race. It is an utterly uncompromising and courageous book, the more so because its subject matter is such that it cannot be transferred to the screen, as were "All Quiet on the Western Front" and "Arch of Triumph"; nor is it calculated to win a wider reading public for Mr. Remarque, since despite its idealism "Spark of Life" is one of the most brutal books of our time.

It is an unsparing account of life and death in an imaginary German concentration camp in the spring of 1945. Every act of physical hideousness of which human beings, alone among the animal kingdom, have been proved capable during the past two decades is recounted in revolting detail by Mr. Remarque, who seems to have been driven by a fury to set down all of the facts which it is to be hoped future generations will find difficult to believe.

The scene is a "mild" camp (without crematorium) nestled in the hills above a picturesque German town. While the inmates are being beaten, clubbed, starved, tortured, and shot, Allied artillery rumbles beyond the horizon like the distant voice of doom for the unheeding Nazis. Finally the bombers come, the town is destroyed, and the German dead lay heaped beside their victims as the liberators arrive.

The suspense in the story hangs on which of the camp "veterans" who, as free men will, have banded together for mutual protection will be able to hold out until the collapse of their tormentors. One by one they go, until only Prisoner 509, a ten-year man, and his immediate group are left to fan the feeble spark of life in their bony breasts. We are reminded that it was those whose lives had purpose and direction, the religious Jews, the Catholics, the liberal idealists like 509, and the Communists, who were best fitted to outlast the camp commandants. (We are further reminded that the Communist prisoners themselves were opposed to the camps, not in principle, but only because they felt that the wrong people were running them; it is one of the implied purposes of the book to warn that humanity is continuously engaged in a running battle against totalitarian tyranny that did not end with the dissolution of the Nazi terror apparatus.)

There are shades of good among the prisoners, ranging from pathetic attempts at fellowship to deeds of pure heroism, but Mr. Remarque's conception of evil is narrow and obvious, unrelieved by serious probing into the inner mental workings or the pathology of the bestialized Nazis. We know that there were men like Camp Commandant Neubauer, the rotten and soulless petit-bourgeois opportunist, and Breuer, the textbook sadist, but we do not learn from Mr. Remarque why they existed or what made them as they were. He comes down heavily upon the sickening irony of the Neubauers cultivating their flower gardens on the margins of the torture centers—but this we knew already, and the dark inner reality of evil he does not illuminate beyond a documentary enumeration of its physical apparatus.

It is Mr. Remarque's basic article of faith that there are always men who are truly human, in the face of the most unspeakable degradation, and that nothing can extinguish the spark of humanity that is passed from generation to generation. What is more horrifying about his novel than the descriptions of moral purulence and physical violence, however, is that it is a failure: his faith is coldly contradicted by the facts of the case as he himself presents them. For Prisoner 509's survival until the verge of liberation is in the last analysis due not to his unquenchable humanity—except in isolated dramatic instances—but only to sheer blind luck; he and all of the other veterans could have been exterminated—and if the war had lasted for several more months, would surely have been—at the pleasure of the monsters who ran the state.

Since life would be intolerable if we did not share, to one degree or another, Mr. Remarque's faith, it must be concluded that it is not that faith which is faulty in this shattering book but only the artistry with which it is at once expressed and negated.

HARVEY SWADOS

Israel's Problems

ISRAEL: THE BEGINNING AND TOMORROW. By Hal Lehrman. William Sloane Associates. $3.75.

ETERNAL STRANGER. By Lawrence Resner. Doubleday and Company. $3.

MR. LEHRMAN'S survey of contemporary Israel is in several respects first-rate as well as first-hand reporting. His book is lively, tart, and eminently readable. He analyzes the major problems besetting the new state, such as party conflicts, church versus state, the Arab dilemma, and so on, in a workman-like fashion, shrewd and informative. In his discussions he painstakingly presents contending points of view and ostensibly offers the reader the luxury of making up his own mind. The blurb on the jacket characterizes the book as "impartial," and Mr. Lehrman states his credo in a sentence which recurs with variations throughout the study: "The truth, as usual, lay in between."

This elaborate and hypothetical impartiality constitutes the book's weakness rather than its virtue. The "truth" rarely locates itself so conveniently in the middle or on the fence; and though much may be said on both sides, the mere process of equating arguments of opposing factions is a form of judgment. Where claims are mutually exclusive, by placing both on the scales as of equal worth the analyst has not escaped the responsibility of weighing their respective merits. More likely, by this equipoise he may have dignified falsehood or error.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For instance, in a chapter impartially entitled Histadrut: Benefactor or Bully, Mr. Lehrman discusses cooperative versus private enterprise in Israel and the role of organized labor. He studiously presents the arguments pro and con and concludes: "Now it is not necessary for this reporter to make a categoric judgment on the merits of the Histadrut case. Our problem here is to expose to general public attention a basic problem hitherto treated gingerly or overlooked entirely in objective American public discussion. Sooner or later that problem had to be soberly confronted for Israel to become a flourishing market for private foreign investment." Of course, categorically or diplomatically, the author has pronounced judgment, and only the most naive of readers will fail to note that if cooperative enterprise comes off second best in the encounter, Mr. Lehrman's marshaling of the evidence has considerably contributed to the defeat.

The charges against the Socialist Mapai and organized labor (Histadrut) exhaustively reported by Mr. Lehrman are the usual ones of "statism," "dictatorship," "incompetence," always leveled by ideological opponents and drearily familiar to all who recall the barrage against the New Deal or the British Labor government. In Israel social planning is even less utopian and more of a sober necessity than elsewhere. If Solel Boneh, the building cooperative, gets preferential treatment in the allocation of scarce materials, it is because Solel Boneh is ready to construct roads or lay pipe lines in dangerous and financially unrewarding circumstances. If Solel Boneh is willing to construct a road in the Negev while Mr. Blank wants to erect a fancy, though highly profitable, restaurant in Tel Aviv, Solel Boneh will get the cement. Similarly, in view of the dollar shortage, hard currency will first be allocated for undertakings which are essential to the country's development and the population's welfare.

No one appreciates the need for encouraging the flow of private investment better than the Mapai leadership from Ben-Gurion down. Special inducements are being offered to private capital. Mapai has no doctrinaire commitment to any one economic formula. But the lures offered the private investor cannot be gauged solely by his appetite. The price exacted by untrammeled private enterprise may be too high in terms of the country's primary interests. As one surveys Israel's history, one is forced to the conclusion that the diffidence of private capitalists is due not to the power of the labor movement, as Mr. Lehrman suggests, but rather the reverse. The strength of the pioneer cooperative sector, since the beginnings of Zionist colonization, has stemmed from the lack of idealism on the part of the private investors. The characterization of "private" and "national" capital applies to goals as well as sources.

Mr. Lehrman's accounts of favoritism, government inefficiency, and bureaucracy, though exaggerated, have their basis in fact. Israel suffers from inexperience and human failure under excessive pressure. But these difficulties are superficial. In time the machinery of government will function more smoothly. A more fundamental question raised by Mr. Lehrman's survey is whether this government will continue to be led by Labor or whether the growing threat from the right, spearheaded by the General Zionists, will materialize.

One of the more intriguing aspects of Israel is the variety and size of the immigrant influx. The demographic character of the state is changing rapidly. Already the majority of the new immigrants are Oriental Jews, strange in speech, customs, and background to the Western Jews who till recently had been the dominant element. In "The Eternal Stranger" Mr. Resner describes the desperate plight of the Jewish communities of North Africa and Asia Minor. His account of the Neo-Destour movement in Tunisia and of rising Arab nationalism in North Africa as well as the Middle East is particularly pertinent. He offers grim evidence for the bitter words of a Moroccan Jew: "No Jew feels at home in a Moslem country."

Mr. Resner's circumstantial if pedestrian picture of the sufferings of Jewish communities from Bagdad to Casablanca amply explains their flight to Israel. It also indicates how vast and complex are the problems of cultural fusion as well as economic assimilation which the young state has bravely undertaken.

MARIE SYRKIN

NEXT WEEK IN "*The* NATION"

MIDWINTER BOOK ISSUE

THE WRITER'S DILEMMA
An Essay by Vincent Brome

AMERICAN CAPITALISM
by J. K. Galbraith
Reviewed by Keith Hutchison

NEW HOPES FOR A CHANGING WORLD
by Bertrand Russell
Reviewed by Ernest Nagel

NATIONS HAVE SOULS
by Andre Siegfried
Reviewed by Albert Guerard

QUIET PLEASE
by James Branch Cabell
Reviewed by Joseph Wood Krutch

THE SEVEN-LEAGUE CRUTCHES
by Randall Jarrell
Reviewed by Stephen Spender

LESLIE STEPHEN
by Noel Gilroy Annan
Reviewed by Morton Dauwen Zabel

ASIA AND THE WEST
by Maurice Zinkin
Reviewed by W. Norman Brown

BROOKS ADAMS
by Thornton Anderson
Reviewed by Richard Hofstadter

RECENT BOOKS ON THOMAS JEFFERSON
Reviewed by George Genzmer

Music by B. H. Haggin
Art by Manny Farber

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Myths and Fairy Tales

THE FORGOTTEN LANGUAGE. An Introduction to the Understanding of Dreams, Fairytales and Myths. By Erich Fromm. Rinehart and Company. $3.50.

IN HIS new book Erich Fromm tries to reintroduce dream interpretation as a basic human value. This art held a prominent and cherished place in all early civilizations but had entirely disappeared from public interest at the time that Freud discovered its application to psychoanalysis. As a result of his work, dream interpretation was revived at least in professional circles, especially among psychiatrists. Unfortunately, however, it was effectively prevented from spreading further into society, since the final result of Freud's theorizings was to render dreams morally and socially abhorrent. They were in Freud's own words "a pathological product," and their complex, baffling shapes were created to shield from our sense of decency their incestuous content and wholly lawless attitude.

Although Fromm accepts the prevalence in dreams of forbidden impulses, he takes a position essentially the reverse of Freud's. He claims that dreams reveal, along with our worst traits, profounder perceptions and nobler feelings than we are capable of even during our waking life, where the influences surrounding us inhibit our sincerity and close off spontaneous reaction. Dreams contain "important communications from ourselves to ourselves." They admonish us when we turn away from our true natures, and they advise us, instruct us, as to how we may preserve our happiness and moral well-being. Dreams, moreover, embody each change that we as individuals undergo, and to the skilled interpreter they point the direction in which our maturing psyche wishes to take us. Fromm quotes these beautiful words from the Talmud: "A dream which is not understood is like a letter which is not opened."

It becomes Fromm's difficult task to justify his own positive approach to dreams and to demonstrate that Freud's approach was primarily false. To accomplish this, he utilizes his own experience as a therapist (this case material is particularly impressive), a number of theoretical reformulations of standard Freudian principles, and his own special conception of symbolic language. His argument may be said to rest upon these two principles:

First, that the unconscious Freud describes, which supposedly supplies the psychic energy for the dream and determines its real meaning, does not exist. The unconscious is not a separate, localized compartment of the mind. It is more natural and believable to assume that in sleep our waking, conscious mind continues its thought processes in an altered form. We are biologically at rest, and the unconscious amounts to nothing more than the mental consequence of this change. The new content of our mind—the dream meanings—is in reality the content that we ignore or dissociate by day. This content belongs to our adult personality; it is not, as Freud maintains, a mass of infantile strivings unrelated to ourselves as adults and normally banished to the unconscious. The significance of this reformulation is that it permits dreams to reflect every possible variety of impulse, good or bad, wise or foolish. For our own mind, that part of our thinking controlled and manipulated by ourselves, creates the dream—not our unconscious.

Second, Fromm develops the proposition that symbolic language, as it appears in dreams and many literary forms, is an authentic and purposeful means of communication. He is convinced that dream symbols are designed entirely to convey information, not to conceal or mislead. To Freud the dream was a lavish masquerade party, and chiefly because of the guests' devilish cunning the sleeping mind never suspected their real identity. Fromm believes that the revelers at the party are what they appear to be. In symbolic language—the language of our dreams—we synthesize and transmute the materials of reality so as to body forth psychic impulses that could find no other form of expression. Symbolic language by its nature overthrows all the ordinary laws of logic; "not space and time are the ruling categories but intensity and association." The masquerade party is a carefully and magnificently constructed representation of our thoughts during sleep.

Of special importance to Fromm are "universal" symbols. Freud neglected these, Fromm claims, in his eagerness to track dream down to its source in childhood strivings. Characteristic of his

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the U S S R

See life in the USSR through the camera eye. Read the multicolor monthly pictorial

SOVIET UNION

an all-embracing portrayal of Soviet life and achievements. Issued in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish and Chinese.

Subscription per year — $2.50

Latest Soviet Records and Handicrafts

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-52

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . $9.50 You Save $2.50

The NATION

☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . $10.75 You Save $1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION *by itself*

☐ 1 Year $7 ☐ 2 Years $12 ☐ 3 Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
  ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

2-16-52

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

error was to interpret a dream of nakedness as necessarily denoting an infantile wish for exhibitionism. Freud did not consider that nakedness may also be a symbol of the desire to be truthful and sincere, to show oneself in one's true colors. Through a knowledge of universal symbols Fromm believes that we are brought close to the sources of our humanity. These symbols, Fromm shows us, are produced by all people, irrespective of the era they belong to or the society in which they dwell. Interestingly enough, subjects who have never heard of Freud and who in their waking state make no sense of their dreams are found under hypnosis to interpret symbols as readily and perfectly as any psychoanalyst.

The individual chapters that compose "The Forgotten Language," especially the two dealing with the technique and history of dream interpretation, make excellent sense. But the relationship between chapters is often unclear, and there is a monstrous disproportion in emphasis. The technical details of the Freud-Fromm controversy are discussed, for the intended lay audience, to exhaustion, and there are several unnecessarily prolonged analyses of the myth (King Oedipus), fairytale (Little Red Ridinghood), Biblical narrative (Jonah and the whale), novel (Kafka's "The Trial"), and religious observance (the Sabbath). These last analyses are excerpted from previous works by Fromm, and have only a very indirect place here. No one can help appreciating the warm humanism that informs this book, just as it did "Escape from Freedom" and "Man for Himself." But a little misanthropic balance, order, and scientific caution would have been equally welcome. CHARLES SPIELBERGER

Books in Brief

THE UNIVERSE: ITS ORIGIN, NATURE, AND DESTINY. By Laban Lacy Rice. Exposition Press. $2.50. Seventy-six pages have seldom been asked to cover as much ground as in this book by the former president of Cumberland University. Cosmological notions from those of the ancient Egyptians through Einstein, de Sitter, Eddington, *et al.* and down to the recent much-publicized theories of Hoyle are first surveyed. In the process abstruse concepts including relativity, space curvature, and the possible significance of the "cosmological constant" are tossed about in giddy profusion. Finally the author, rejecting both a supernatural beginning for the universe and the inevitability of its ultimate death through entropy, comes up with a speculation "in a sense beyond the purview of science." "Why not suppose that in some inexplicable manner space will integrate that dissipated energy and . . . use it catalytically to reactivate the 'dead' atoms?" Mr. Rice's wide reading and gift for popular exposition make it impossible to dismiss "The Universe" as a mere crank book.

DANCE TO THE PIPER. By Agnes de Mille. Little, Brown. $3.50. An ebullient autobiography by the choreographer of "Oklahoma!" that gives a lively picture of the difficulties, the disappointments, the iron discipline, and the incredible amount of hard and patient work that go into the making of a dancer.

THE PECULIAR WAR. By E. J. Kahn, Jr. Random House. $2.75. A collection of this top-flight reporter's *New Yorker* pieces on the Korean war. Kahn has a sure eye for the off-beat incident and the revealing anecdote, and his articles are still good reading.

PRISONERS ARE PEOPLE. By Kenyon J. Scudder. Doubleday. $3. The California Institution for Men at Chino was started in 1940 as an experimental prison to demonstrate the possibility of taking hand-picked prisoners from other California penitentiaries and putting them to work on a twenty-six-hundred-acre farm with a maximum of privileges and a minimum of restrictions. This book by the superintendent of Chino describes the theory and practice of the plan, and the excellent results that have been obtained. A useful volume for everyone interested in the rehabilitation of the criminal.

BLOODY PRECEDENT. By Fleur Cowles. Random House. $3. The associate editor of *Quick* and *Look* describes a rather interesting and fairly close parallel between the present dictator of Argentina and his wife, and an equally unscrupulous pair of predecessors a century ago. Included is a brief but intimate glimpse of Evita at home.

GET THE NEWS straight in THE COMPASS

for factual, truthful, timely reporting and comments that

CHALLENGE

You will want to read THE COMPASS every day. THE COMPASS is not just another newspaper. It is part of the American heritage, which has sought to establish truly free and independent newspapers since this country was begun by men who believed in freedom.

RESPONSIBLE

The PAPER America NEEDS! THE COMPASS bows to nobody. It belongs to no political party. It is *responsible* only to the community and its readers. It prints the news *straight*—and it tells *the real story behind the news.* THE COMPASS interest is the people's interest. It depends entirely on you for support. Give THE COMPASS a real test. Read it daily for a month—and you'll be a COMPASS reader forever.

STAFF EXPERTS

You will find in THE COMPASS men who know what's happening and WHY!

Ted O. Thackrey
Editor & Publisher
Whose hard-hitting editorials have brought praise and damnation from Washington to Moscow, from London to New Delhi. He wears no man's collar in the battle for world progress.

I. F. Stone
World-Famed Correspondent
Unpredictable and brilliant — his daily COMPASS column on world events is a MUST. You can't tell what global happenings mean without his scorecard.

Jennings Perry
Fighting Southern Editor
He resigned a top newspaper editorship rather than take editorial dictation. His dynamic acrid comments are a daily COMPASS exclusive.

And Many Others

THE COMPASS
America's Great Liberal Newspaper
At All New York Newsstands 10c daily

Keep Your Bearings
Get Yourself a COMPASS
Subscribe Today!

SPECIAL OUT-OF-TOWN OFFER
(For New Readers Only)
3 MONTHS (Daily & Sunday) $5
1 MONTH (Daily & Sunday) $2

The Daily Compass, P. O. Box 2, Canal St. Station, New York 13, N. Y.
Please enter my subscription to THE COMPASS for ☐ 3 months at $5; ☐ 1 month at $2.
Name .....
Address .....
City, State .....
☐ Check enclose. ☐ Bill me.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

ANY old-timer will tell you that "smart comedies" are not as good as they used to be. Most new-timers will add that they never were, and a Noel Coward or Somerset Maugham revival usually tends to suggest that the new-timers are right. But S. N. Behrman's "Jane" (Coronet Theater) is a knock-down argument on the other side. Nothing like it is to be seen on Broadway; Mr. Behrman himself has not written anything else half so good in many years. And Mr. Behrman's best is very good indeed.

Way back in the thirties he was oppressed by the fear that ours was no time for comedy. With increasing seriousness he experimented with quasi-comedies on weighty themes, and when they did not quite jell he turned to translations and adaptations which, though sometimes pleasant enough, were a waste of his talents. Now he has returned to himself again and proved that there is always time for comedy as sparkling and as deft as "Jane."

The program acknowledges a suggestion from a story by Maugham about a rich frump from Liverpool who marries a young architect and becomes the rage of London society because the shattering directness of her speech appears mordant wit when the speaker is properly costumed and the surroundings are properly elegant. Now this sort of thing is much harder to bring off in a play than in a story, because it is easier to say that someone scintillated than it is to make him scintillate. Mr. Behrman boldly faces the difficulty, builds up to the moments when his Jane is to give a taste of her quality, and then, almost miraculously, she does it. His method is as rash as that of the joke teller who begins by announcing that you are going to die laughing at the funniest tale you ever heard in your life. But Jane does not let you down.

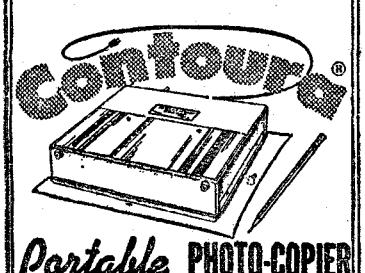
Some of the charm as well as the suavity of the production must be credited to Edna Best's warm playing of the leading role and to notable support from both Basil Rathbone as a skeptical writer strongly suggestive of Mr. Maugham and Howard St. John as the blustering newspaper peer set up for Jane to deflate. But the whole management of the play is just right, and I think that it will owe a good deal of the success it will probably enjoy to the fact that its tone is, in subtle ways, not so nearly identical as it may seem to be with that of the standard "smart comedy." "Jane" has a warmth, a geniality, a fundamental kindliness and humanity which such plays generally—and deliberately—avoid. The difference is not explicit or overt like the one Mr. Behrman set up in plays like "Rain from Heaven," where the grim facts of a disordered world were permitted to invade the enchanted ground of a comedy drawing-room. "Jane" remains persistently concerned with nothing except the private lives of privileged persons, and the only reminders that this is not the 1938 when the action takes place are a few prophetically ironic references to the absurd fuss being made about such remote nonsense as the war in Ethiopia. But what used to be called the "brittle" tone is not quite so satisfactory to any of us as it used to be. Pure cynicism, egotism, and mere "brilliance" leave a slightly bad taste in the mouth. And Mr. Behrman has brought smart comedy up to date by endowing his heroine with a certain humanity which is subtly emphasized by the fact that most of his other characters are old-fashioned enough to lack it. "Jane" is smart but not merely "brittle." And that I suspect is why it will be better liked than one might have anticipated from any preliminary account. It is more up to date than it seems to be.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Ever Need To

COPY ANYTHING?

. . . then you need



Portable PHOTO-COPIER

Copies anything, anywhere! The Photo-Copier you can carry in a briefcase. The ONLY one that copies curved text near binding of heavy volumes. Ideal for professional, business and industrial use. Eliminates longhand-copying and proofreading notes. Accurate. Guaranteed! As low as $39.00, complete. Write for literature now!

F. G. LUDWIG Associates
78 Pease Rd. Woodbridge, Conn.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

LOTTE LEHMANN's Parlophone records of German lieder (which Decca issued here in the thirties, and which I hope it will reissue on LP) and the records she made for Victor and Columbia up to 1941 or '42 document not only the unique gifts but the serious faults of those earlier years—not only the luscious voice but the constricted, shrill high notes resulting from defective technique; not only the emotional warmth that suffused the singing, but the explosive vehemence that often tore the phrase apart. Around 1943 the need of skill and care in the use of an aging but still remarkably beautiful voice began to be evident not only in unconstricted and agreeable high notes but in the refinement and subtilization of the singing, which now achieved expressive effect through inflection of the continuous line of the phrase. For two or three years her Town Hall concerts offered unforgettable experiences of this perfected art; then the programs began to include more and more of the songs that lent themselves to the increasing archness and cuteness in the performances to which her adoring public responded ecstatically, and the concerts began to include goings-on that needed a stronger stomach than mine. I therefore stopped going to them a few years ago; and thus it was that I missed the climax of this public love affair—the celebrated scene of renunciation and farewell at the recital of February 16, 1951. Thus it is also that the extraneous noises immortalized by the recently issued Pembroke recording of that occasion don't include the gritting of my teeth.

The two LP records (skilfully processed from the recording made with the equipment in Town Hall) will enable future generations to hear Lehmann make her intermission speech, hear her say at the end of the concert that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

she will *try* to sing Schubert's "An die Musik," and hear her, sure enough, fail to sing the last phrase. More important, future generations will be able to hear that at this last recital she sang a good program ending with a group of songs from Schubert's "Die schöne Müllerin," that her voice, after warming up in the opening Schumann group, was still amazingly lovely, and that in most of the songs she used it with beautiful art, but that there were a few exceptions: an excessively tumultuous performance of Wagner's "Träume," a vehement performance of Schubert's "Die liebe Farbe," and a concluding performance of his "Des Baches Wiegenlied" too slow in pace and with expansive retardations that destroyed the effect of the quiet steady movement of the song —the effect produced, for example, in Lehmann's wonderful performance in the old Columbia recording.

In the Schubert songs that Schlusnus sings on a London record his voice is still very fine and his performances are effective.

Many of Wolf's songs are, for me, only skilful underlining of the words that I don't find musically interesting; but among the songs on a Urania record are a few which are more than that: "Gesellenlied" and "Im Frühling," superbly sung by the tenor Roswänge; "Uber Nacht" and "Gesang Weyla's," sung by Margarete Klose, whose rich contralto is shrill in part of the first song; "In der Frühe," "Kennst du das Land," and "Wie glänzt der helle Mond," sung by the soprano Annemarie Simon, whose voice is unpleasantly sharp and tremulous. The last song on each side is distorted; and there are noisy surface defects.

A number of fine songs by Purcell and Dowland are on a Period record sung by the baritone John Langstaff, who has a rather dry voice but uses it effectively in sustained phrasing which creates continuing life in the progression of music and words.

Recent books about ballet include "How to Enjoy Ballet" by the indefatigable and fatuous Arnold L. Haskell (Morrow, $3) and Dorothy Samachson's "Let's Meet the Ballet" (Schuman, $4), which is a little better but not a good book either in itself or for its purpose. What these books undertake to do for the general reader is done by Edwin Denby's "Looking at the Dance" when it begins with "When you watch ballet dancers dancing" and, as it continues, has the reader in effect seeing through Denby's eyes what the dancers do. And this—the essential for the reader's appreciation of ballet—he will not see through the eyes of Haskell or Mrs. Samachson, or with their factual information about what goes into the creation of a ballet, or with her interviews with Danilova and Lazovsky.

Two very poor books are William Chappell's "Fonteyn" (Macmillan, $4.50), which is largely about the author, with photographs by Cecil Beaton that are mostly perverse and irrelevant; and Robert Lawrence's "Victor Book of Ballets" (Simon and Schuster, $3.95), poor in its inclusion of ballets that nobody is likely to see again (e. g., "Namouna," "Thamar," "La Tragédie de Salome," "HP," "Les Cents Baisers") and omission of some now being performed (e. g., "The Four Temperaments," the ballets of Petit and Babilée), its comment on the ballets, its selection of photographs (e. g., a photograph of Babilée in his undiscussed and unidentified "Tyl Eulenspiegel" to illustrate the Nijinsky ballet; photographs of Zorina and Morosova in "Le Beau Danube," but not of Danilova).

Haskell turns up again as the writer of the text for "Baron at the Ballet" (Morrow, $10), a book of photographs taken in England and assembled for the English public, and therefore including many of English ballets and dancers that are of no interest to Americans. Moreover, there are fifteen pages of photographs of Petit's "Carmen," nine of his "Le Jeune Homme et la mort," and ample documentation of Tudor's "Pillar of Fire," "Romeo and Juliet," and other works; but the entire documentation of the Balanchine ballets performed in London in the last fifteen years or more is a meaningless leap by Alonso for "Waltz Academy" and an inaccurate pose by Marjorie Tallchief and Skibine for "Concerto Barocco." And the selection of photographs of dancers is similarly questionable. With all that there are of course a fair number of photographs of important ballets and great dancers. But this book and others like it make me want to see a collection of the superb ballet photographs of Fred Fehl.

Though Balanchine's "Apollo" and "The Fairy's Kiss" are not being presented by the New York City Ballet in its present season, his "Four Temperaments," "Card Game," "Concerto Barocco," "Sinfonie Concertante," "Symphony in C," and "Bourrée Fantasque" are still to be seen; and his new "Divertissement Classique" (to Mozart's Divertimento K.287) promises to be one of the most extraordinary things he has done.

CONTRIBUTORS

HARVEY SWADOS has published stories and reviews in various magazines.

MARIE SYRKIN, author of "Blessed Is the Match," has made extended visits to Israel.

CHARLES SPIELBERGER has published stories in *Partisan Review* and the *Yale Review*.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

vanguard presents . . .

AMERICAN RECORDING PREMIERE

SHOSTAKOVICH ORATORIO

Song of the Forests, op. 81

Eugene Mravinsky conducting the combined CHOIRS AND STATE ORCHESTRA OF THE U.S.S.R. Petrov, tenor; Kilichevsky, bass.

The only authorized recording processed from the original master tapes through arrangement with Leeds Music Corp.

No. VRS-422—1 12" LP $5.95

Available at all Record Shops

Send for Catalog "N" to

vanguard recording society, inc

799 Broadway, New York City

AUTHENTIC BEETHOVEN'S BACH'S ("Urtext") editions in handy pocket scores

The Violin Sonatas, 2 vols. The Cello Sonatas, 1 volume

Goldberg Variations & Ital. Concerto 8 Gamba Sonatas & 7 Flute Sonatas

98¢ each — FREE Catalog

At dealers, or direct from

LEA POCKET SCORES DEPT. W, BOX 139 New York 32, N. Y.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD

RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd

present in association with

LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

MARTHA WRIGHT

GEORGE BRITTON

IN

South Pacific

Music by RICHARD RODGERS

Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd

Book by

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN

Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner

with MYRON McCORMICK

MAJESTIC THEATRE, 44th St., West of B'way

Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2.30

Monday Eves. *only.* Curtain at 7 sharp.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Where Segregation Means Death

[*The following examples of discriminatory practices in hospitals, sent to* The Nation *by the Southern Conference Educational Fund of New Orleans, prove that the case cited by Alex Gottfried in his article, Death by Jim Crow, which appears in this issue, is not an isolated incident but belongs to a pattern of segregation which is general in the South and which can also be traced in other parts of the country.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

ON August 27, 1950, three men were injured in an automobile accident in Hardinburg, Kentucky. They were taken to Breckinridge Hospital, where they were left lying on a bare floor for over three hours because the hospital had "no facilities for colored people." The only medicine given them was morphine; they received no other treatment. One of the victims, Leroy Foley, died at the hospital.

John H. Smith, who had a broken back, and Jesse Wallace were eventually moved to the Louisville General Hospital. Foley's family received a bill for the use of the Breckinridge Hospital floor on which he died.

In the winter of 1946 a colored woman in labor was refused admission to a church-sponsored hospital (Sibley) in Washington, D. C., when she could no longer continue on her way to the Gallinger General Hospital. Her baby was delivered on the sidewalk in front of the hospital.

On March 6, 1951, Mrs. Emma Dangerfield was brought to the Jefferson-Hillman Hospital in Birmingham, Alabama, in critical condition. Her Negro doctor, who was not allowed to practice at the hospital, had made arrangements with a white doctor to look after his patient. Both physicians understood there was a bed available for Mrs. Dangerfield. But when her husband tried to get her admitted he was told that he must make a $100 cash deposit before she could be considered. Although Mr. Dangerfield had $50 in cash with him, his wife was covered by insurance, and his employer promised to pay the other $50 the following morning, the hospital refused to admit Mrs. Dangerfield. After lying on a stretcher for over two hours, she was taken in an ambulance to her home, where she died an hour later. The hospital defended its action on the grounds that (1) "Jefferson-Hillman already has unpaid accounts on its books of more than $300,000, and it does not wish that sum to be enlarged if it can help it"; and (2) all the Negro beds were filled.

On February 15, 1951, the physician of a young Negro, Robert Hudson, tried to get his patient admitted to one of the three hospitals in Akron, Ohio. He was told that they were all filled but that he could put Hudson on a waiting list. While Hudson was waiting to be admitted to a hospital he lapsed into a coma; his mother called an ambulance, and he was taken to City Hospital, where she was told there was no room for him. He died early the following morning. A spokesman for the hospital claimed that there were no beds available. Actually there was one empty bed, but it was in a room occupied by a white man.

Commendation from Congressman King

Dear Sirs: It would be quite desirable if many commentators and writers of articles on this subject [the tax-evasion scandal] were as well informed as your Norman Redlich is in his article Internal Confusion in Internal Revenue, published in *The Nation* of January 19. For the limited space used, it covered the very involved and complicated subject in most excellent fashion.

Washington, D. C. CECIL R. KING,

Johnson's Stand Praised

Dear Sirs: Senator Edwin C. Johnson's article U. M. T.—Booby Trap, which appeared in your January 26 issue, is perhaps the most clear-cut, cogent argument against U. M. T. I have ever read. Both Senator Johnson and *The Nation* should be congratulated for attacking the supporters of U. M. T. on their own ground.

Senator Johnson's article is a telling refutation of the case for U. M. T. because he demonstrates the inability of such a system to achieve its stated goals and the grave possibility of losing through U. M. T. the very things for which we are fighting.

HAROLD B. EHRLICH

New Brunswick, N. J.

Prudential's Wealth

Dear Sirs: The article If Your Agent Doesn't Call [*The Nation,* December 22, 1951] overlooked several vital facts about the Prudential Life Insurance Company. Do you know, for instance, that Prudential has total assets of more than $9,000,000,000? or that 31,000,000 policy holders carry some $40,000,000,000 worth of insurance? or that Carol M. Shanks, president of Prudential, testified before a House committee that in 1949 his corporation took in an average of $3,000,000 a day of new premium money?

Out of its vast wealth Prudential offers its workers a $3.11 weekly increase. It's about time for insurance companies to equate their wage scales with other billion-dollar enterprises. In fact, it's about twenty years too late.

New York KATHERINE T. WEISS

PERSONALS

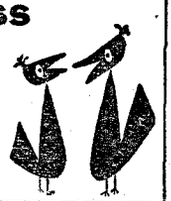
NEW STATESMAN reader, feminine, European background, would welcome congenial correspondence. Box 249, c/o The Nation.

IF UNMARRIED AND MATRIMONIALLY MINDED, WOULD LIKE TO MEET SOMEONE WHO MIGHT LIKE TO MEET YOU? Write for free copyrighted pamphlet. Address Personal Introduction Service, 2112 Broadway, New York City 23.

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone, who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.' Write for booklet, or phone

MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

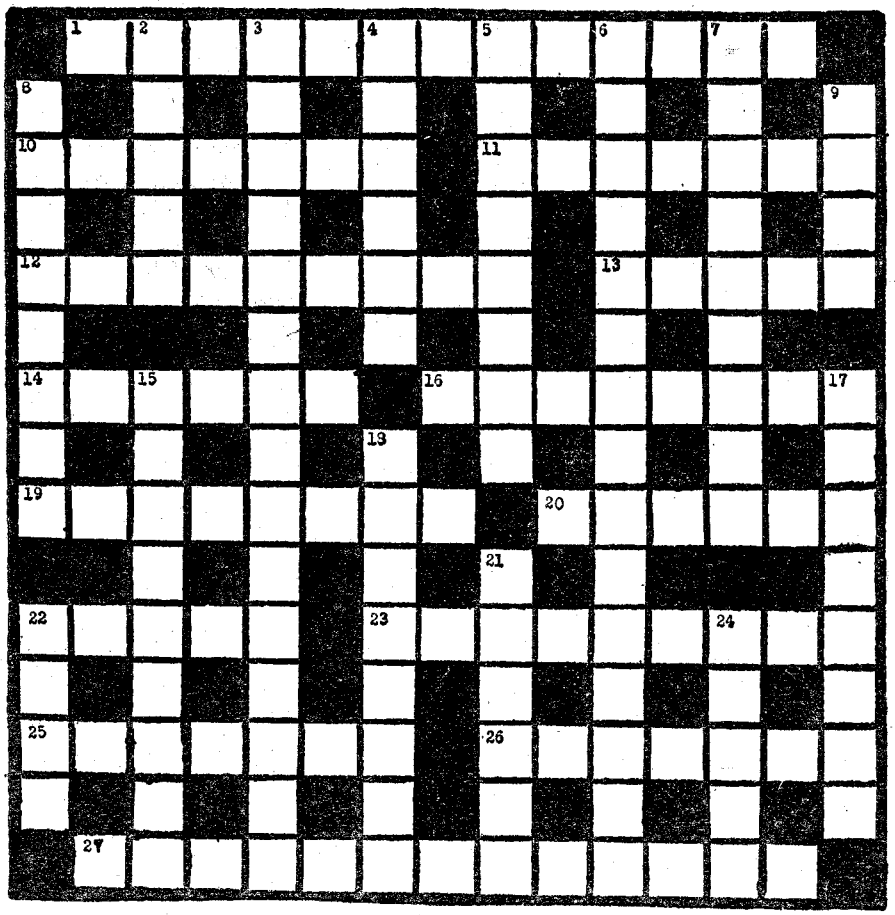
Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 452

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 21 down.
10 It's not hers to lop off. (7)
11 Dedication of ocular libation. (2, 5)
12 It's the law that one should have guns around one. (9)
13 They're not worth much now! (How times have changed!) (5)
14 Goeth before many a fall. (6)
16 Curly? He's generally revolutionary! (8)
19. Reputedly a fate worse than death. (8)
20 Hits little boys? Quite the opposite! (6)
22 Tobacco can take away the alternative. (5)
23 Listens to candidate Smith again, just for practice. (9)
25 Do such people have unique if fatal taste? (7)
26 The Order of the Moose in different and unpleasant condition. (7)
27 Bury in an artistically striking manner, between two objects. (13)

DOWN

2 The shape of nothing plus nothing. (5)
3 Implies both friends and relations. (7, 8)
4 Located in a famous town in Germany. (6)
5 Gilbertian version of solitaire? (8)
6 Is the previous message in process of getting turned out? (15)
7 Certainly not short stories. (4, 5)
8 Awkward pose used in getting married. (8)
9 See 21.
15 The sort of lemon with a superior odor. (9)
17 Ended up with confused instruments in full color. (8)
18 How to secure an opening. (Or where to look for the lintel? (4, 4)
21, 22 down, 1 across, 9 down. Implying several have moved up to defile, if good-looking. (6, 4, 4, 2, 1, 6, 4)
22 See 21 down.
24 Things that do usually become 26. (5)

••■••

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 451

ACROSS:—1 ANTISEPTIC; 6 SPAR; 10, 27 and 8 THE LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE; 11 DRAGONS; 12 PARSNIPS; 13 IMAMS; 15 OPERA; 17 AMERICANA; 21 TOPIC; 23 SIRED; 28 ABOLISH; 29 and 25 SIDE SHOWS; 30 ASSESSMENT.

DOWN:—1 ANTS; 2, 26, 19, 24 across, 3 THE FACE THAT LAUNCHED A THOUSAND SHIPS; 4 PREDICATE; 5 INDUS; 7 PRO RATA; 9 SATIRIST; 14 COLLISIONS; 16 ARCADIAN; 18 ELABORATE; 20 UNRULED; 22 PENSIVE; 24 TITUS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000
A resort of distinction offering relaxation and recreation in the modern manner. Winter activities include skiing and skating on mile long lake. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Dancing, TV, recordings, fireplaces. RATES MODERATE.

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

HAPPY WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY
at MUSIC INN, LENOX, MASS.
Other Week-Ends Too.

REAL ESTATE

FOR SALE: Cape Cod house—Winterport, Maine. River view. 7 rooms, bath. Reasonable. Ernest Tupper. Patten, Maine.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

HOME STUDY

NOW YOU CAN LEARN touch typewriting at home in 4 hours! Practice at your own convenience. Simple step-by-step instructions. Complete with speed typing lessons and FREE typewriter keyboard chart. All for $1. Satisfaction or money back! Rush order to: LERNER, 15 East 208 St., N. Y. C. 67-N.

SEMINAR

LOS ANGELES: 15-week Seminar on International Relations with MARTIN HALL, at the First Unitarian Church, 8 P.M. every Thursday beginning February 21; $7.50 series; 60¢ single admission.

BOOK

STOP SMOKING. 25¢ in coin. 800 words, 3 practical methods used by Christiansen, 1154 Bedford Ave., Brooklyn 16, New York.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION
TWENTY VESEY STREET
New York 7, New York
BArclay 7-1066

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Free!!

"THE ONLY WAR WE SEEK"

. . . one of the most important books of our time is YOURS FREE with a money-saving subscription to the NEW REPUBLIC!

"The only war we seek," said President Truman last May, "is the good old fight against man's ancient enemies — poverty, disease, hunger and illiteracy."

Now a new book, written by Arthur Goodfriend and published by Farrar, Straus, and Young, Inc., for ADA, tells in 150 dramatic photographs with authoritative text of America's problems and opportunities in waging this war . . . in carrying our Point Four Program to the remotest corners of the earth.

"The Only War We Seek" promises to become a modern classic—read and discussed by thinking people everywhere. And it's yours FREE if you take advantage of one of the most amazing offers ever made!

This new big book, selling nationally for $1.00, is yours free when you subscribe to the New Republic at the special money-saving rate of 30 weeks for only $3.00.

Because our supply of this book is limited be sure of getting yours by sending us your order *today*.

This is a book about a billion or more people who will have a lot to say about the kind of world we live in for the next several generations.
Chester Bowles

• THE NEW REPUBLIC •
40 East 49th Street • New York City 17, N. Y.

Please enter a subscription to the *New Republic* in my name at the money-saving introductory rate of 30 weeks for only $3. Also send me FREE, at once, my copy of "The Only War We Seek." I enclose $3.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE_____

N

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED